

The Collapse of the Second International.

By Nicolai Lenin.

Translated by A. SERNIS.

for the Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow, from
whose publication we print.

CHAPTER I Introductory.

By the collapse of the second international, which in some times meant the interruption of the relations between the Socialist parties of the various countries, the suspension of the meetings of the International Socialist Bureau, International Congresses, and so forth. This is the viewpoint from which we perhaps of the majority of the editorial position and especially of the opportunists and their supporters.

In the Russian press under "The Labour Union" of the "Bund" and "Kossovsky" has appeared a view of this view with a frankness that deserves our interest gratitude. Nevertheless, a full and complete agreement their disagreement with the author's viewpoint. Kossovsky went so far as to justify the German Social-Democrats who voted the war credits, and in hope that his defence of Nationalism will open the eyes of many workmen as to the capitalist-nationalist outlook of the "Bund."

To class-conscious workers, Socialism is a definite conviction and is not a cloak to cover up conciliatory middle-class aspirations or opposition to the Government along Nationalist lines. By the collapse of the International, these workers mean the scandalous betrayal by a majority of the official Social Democratic parties of their convictions and solemn declarations made at the International Socialist Congresses of Stuttgart and Basle, and embodied in resolutions passed at these congresses. Only those fail to see this betrayal who do not wish to see. Only those refuse to perceive this betrayal whose interests are bound up in not recognising it.

Looking at the matter scientifically, i.e. from the viewpoint of the relationship of the different classes in modern society, we are obliged to say that the majority of the social democratic parties went over to the side of the rulers' general staffs and governments in opposition to the working class. The end in this direction was given by the German social democracy, which was the largest and most influential part in the second International. This event is of world-historic importance, and we propose to subject it to a searching analysis.

We recognise that wars, despite the horrors and calamities which they breed, are more or less useful in so far as they reveal and make for the destruction of much that is rotten and obsolete within social institutions. Further, the European war has done mankind a service, because it has revealed the undoubted weaknesses inherent in organisations of the working-class. And the European war has already demonstrated that a loathsome cancer is gnawing at the very vitals of the labour movement, a cancer as dangerous as any is evil smelling.

CHAPTER II.

The Betrayal of Socialism by the Socialist Parties.

Is there evidence that the principal Socialist parties of Europe have betrayed all their convictions and duties? The traitors, and those who know or vaguely guess that they will have to be friends with the former in the future, do not care to discuss the matter at all. But however disagreeable it may prove to various "authorities" of the second International, or to their friends amongst the Russian social democrats, we, who care more for socialism than anything else, must raise the question squarely, must call things by their true names, and must not be afraid to tell the workers the truth.

Is there any material evidence showing how the

socialist parties viewed their duties and tactics before the war broke out, and in anticipation of a world war? Certainly. We have the famous resolution passed by the International Socialist Congress at Basle in 1912. We reprint that resolution, together with the one passed at Chemnitz in the same year by the German Social Democrats.

The Basle resolution is a reminder of the forgotten words of International Socialism. It sums up the content of an enormous quantity of propagandist literature circulated in every country prior to the war. It represents a most complete and formal statement of the socialist view of war, and of Socialist tactics in relation to war. We cannot help characterising as a betrayal the fact that not one of the authorities of the International of yesterday, who are the Socialist leaders of to-day—men like Guesde, Kautsky, Hyndman and Plekhanov—dare remind his readers of the Basle resolution. They can only do so in silence, or they can only quote passages of secondary importance, or they can only say that it is essential, as is done by Kautsky.

The fact that the most logical and revolutionary conclusions have been shamelessly forgotten, or repudiated, is the most striking sign of the collapse of the second International. It is also most striking proof that only men who are either hopelessly vain, or who desire to preserve the old hypocritical attitude, can now believe in merely "correcting socialism," or in a policy of "straightening its line."

When, before the war, we can almost say yesterday, Hyndman took up the defence of imperialism, "correctness" soon regarded him as a crank and spoke of him with contempt. To-day the fact that he is a defender of Social Democracy in all countries has, and to Hyndman's level, the difference between then and now being but one of degree and temperament. It is impossible to use parliamentary language which is flattering and condemning the lack of moral courage of a man who writes in the "Nashe Slovo" and who speaks contemptuously of "Mr. Hyndman, but who goes on in the utterances of Comrade Kautsky, of the attitude toward Kautsky one of veneration, or of servility? If we are convinced that Hyndman's attitude toward Kautsky is as false as it is dangerous, there should be more critical and more severe in our attitude toward Kautsky in so far as his subtle and clever policy for imperialism is much more insidious than the crude defence put forward by Mr. Hyndman.

In a pamphlet by Charles Dunan, entitled "What Kind of Peace Do We Desire?" the views of Guesde are set forth in great detail by one of his disciples, who designates him as the "head of Jules Guesde's Bureau." This author naturally enough "quotes" French patriotic declarations by Socialists. Likewise, the German Socialists, too, David, also "quotes" imperialistic statements in his pamphlet on National Defence, which have been uttered by Socialists. But these writers never quote the famous Basle manifesto, Plekhanov, too, passes over the Basle manifesto and soothes him by quoting, with an air of self-satisfaction, disgusting jingo banalities. And Kautsky follows Plekhanov's example. When either Kautsky or Plekhanov quote the Basle manifesto, they omit the entire paragraph of that historic document, which emphasises the true revolutionary position. They may probably find that these significant passages are omitted out of defence to the censor! Thus the police and military authorities render timely assistance to the traitors of Socialism in issuing the Basle resolution, which forbids one to speak of the revolutionary activity.

Perhaps, it may be stated, the Basle manifesto is not a political appeal without substance and devoid of other historical significance or tactical value. The reverse is the case. In the Basle resolu-

tion there is less rhetoric and more concrete substance than in any other Socialist resolution. In it are references to the war which is now upon us. It speaks definitely of the imperialist conflicts which afterwards burst into open war in 1914-15. It critically examines the Austro-Serbian conflict over Albania. It deals with the Anglo-German struggle for markets and colonies. It analyses the Russo-Turkish quarrel over Armenia and Constantinople. The Basle resolution emphatically refers to the present war between the "great powers of Europe." And it also distinctly points out that such a war cannot be justified by Socialist principles, nor by the supine plea that it is being waged in the interests of the people.

Let us take Plekhanov and Kautsky, two of the most typical Socialist authorities nearest at hand. The former writes in Russian and the latter's works are translated into Russian by our opportunists. They both search—with the assistance of Axelrod—for sundry "national justifications" of the war. These declarations are, to speak more correctly, mere vulgar justifications culled from the capitalist gutter press. With learned men, backed up by a series of distorted quotations from Marx to serve as "examples," Plekhanov and Kautsky set forth their case. Plekhanov uses Marx where he refers to the wars of 1813 and 1870. Kautsky likewise utilises Marx's references to the wars of 1854, 1871, 1876-7 and 1889. Only men who are devoid of all Socialist conviction and conscience could seriously put forth such arguments. One cannot help protesting against such unheard of Jesuitism, hypocrisy and general prostitution of Socialism.

Let the Executive Committee of the German S.D.P. hurl anathema against the "Internationale," the new paper issued by Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, because it exposes Kautsky in his true colours. Let Vandervelde, Hyndman, Plekhanov and Co., with the assistance of the Triple Entente, treat their opponents in a similar fashion. In answer, we retaliate by reprinting the Basle Manifesto, which exposes the change of front by the leaders of Socialism, which can only be designated by one word—treason.

The Basle resolution does not speak of a national, or of a people's war. We have examples of such wars during the period 1789-1871. The Basle resolution does not speak of a revolutionary war, which has never been repudiated by Social Democrats. It deals with wars such as the present one, waged by both groups of the warring powers in the interest of capitalist imperialism and dynasties. Both the Austro-German and the Anglo-Franco-Russian group pursue a policy of conquest. Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co. practice downright deception on the workers when they repeat the interested lies spread by the bourgeoisie of every country, which does its best to represent this predatory imperialist colonial war as a people's defensive war—defensive in some way or other. Kautsky and Plekhanov also practice deception when they seek to justify this war by referring to historical examples of wars of a non-imperialist nature.

The purely predatory imperialist and anti-working class nature of the present war has long since ceased to be a purely theoretical question. Imperialism has been denounced in its main features as the struggle of a perishing, decrepit, and rotten bourgeoisie for the division of the world and seeking to enslave "small" nations. This argument has been presented thousands of times in the vast newspaper press of the Socialist movement in every country. In his pamphlet, "The Impending War," the Frenchman, Delaisé, who represents a nation allied to us, explained in a popular way the predatory nature of this war and of the part to be played by the French bourgeoisie. More than that, representatives of the working class parties in every land unanimously and formally expressed their conviction that the impending war would be of an imperialist character, and accordingly drew certain tactical deductions therefrom.

We must reject, therefore, as sophisms, statements

*See appendix, page 66.

Continued on page 6.

*A Jewish Social-Democratic organisation in Russia and Poland.—Translator.

The Basle resolution will be found as an appendix at end of the book of this issue.
*See appendix on page 72 as No. 2 appendix.
*Jules Guesde was the French leader of Revolutionary Socialism in France, who has since gone over to the imperialists and joined the government.

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

RAY EVERITT Managing Editor.

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Postage added to other countries.

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Our Manifesto.

The Manifesto of the Australian Socialist Party, as finally adopted by the Party membership, is now available in pamphlet form. It is to be hoped that it will have a wide circulation, and that the Party's position on the much argued tactical points will become known from the Party's own statement.

It is also to be hoped that those of the workers who are on the fringe of the revolutionary movement, will be induced by a careful study of the Socialist Party's proposition, to actively co-operate in extending and strengthening the present activities.

Almost inevitably the publication of the Manifesto prompts the questions: What is a Manifesto? And will its clauses stand good until the objective is realised?

The Socialist Party Manifesto claims to be nothing more than a general and comprehensive statement of the proletarian philosophy, using the term in the widest sense, covering the accumulated experience and knowledge of the human race regarded as an ordered, i.e., scientific, body of facts, in which the material and economic basis of social improvement is for the first time given its correct place in the scheme of knowledge. Without in any way over-stressing this last point, it may be said that the manifesto is a statement of Marxism, in which connection it may also be said that the proof of the revolutionary principles adhered to is not found in the writings of Marx and Engels alone, but in the entire body of human knowledge.

Claiming to be nothing more than a general statement of those principles, which we consider as best suited as a guide to revolutionary activity, it is also claimed that the particular methods to be pursued at any moment are deducible from these general propositions. Where the deductions are definitely stated they, of course, refer to the needs of the hour. So long as the existing class relationship remains essentially the same, the same propositions on tactical questions must certainly hold good, but no longer, in so far as they are not general principles. It is here that those who criticise the Socialist Party's stand on parliamentary action, completely fail to grasp the fact that society is a process, and that any laws governing it, must be laws of movement. If this be so, then must it not follow that a deduction made to-day may at a later date, have to be cast aside for a new one?

The past shows that the majority of the working class must be "on the move" to make emancipation possible, but that we must not expect everyone that moves to do so as an educated revolutionist. The act of self-emancipation will thus be a political one, a class act.

Further, present events show that capitalism has reached an aggressive stage of development, and that it will not be passive in death, but violent in endeavoring to preserve its existence. This possibly is the extent of our positive knowledge on the question of the passing of capitalism, but definitely to state that such must be so, is on a par and equally unscientific as saying that the ballot and parliament will be the means of gaining control of the means of life. In short, the proof of our tactical propositions will be rendered in the deeds of revolutionary days themselves, and our task for the present is revolutionary propaganda.

The general tone and attitude of the Socialist Party and its Manifesto may be well described by that little word of which Dietzgen is so fond—"sober"—

THE Revolutionary Outlook

By MARCIA.

Women in Parliament.

Lady Astor in England, is urging women to take a lively interest in politics, emphasising the wonderful reforms that could be brought about, if only a number of women could be elected to Parliament; according to her ladyship, it would mean very little short of emancipation for the feminine sex.

Needless to say, Lady Astor, though she has great ideas about reform, introduced by herself or her colleagues, will hardly be conducive to the overthrow of the present system, which is the only way to lift the burden of the workers as a class.

If a majority of women were elected to Parliament to-morrow under the same conditions as Lady Astor, they could not improve the position of their sex; they would stand for the upkeep of Capitalism, and of the law of private property, which in themselves are the cause of woman's enslavement.

It is again necessary to emphasise the need so far as the workers are concerned of thinking and acting along class and not sex lines. Women of the proletariat need give themselves no concern about any reforms that members of their sex may obtain for them in Parliament; while the system exists they will with their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons, be economically bound hand and foot. As a sex they can hope for nothing; as a class their emancipation lies in the overthrow of Capitalism, and the establishment of the Communist Republic.

Australian Militarism.

In the Sydney "Worker" of June 3, stinging comments are made on the Australian Compulsory Defence Scheme; especially upon a form of identification which the boy conscript himself is compelled to fill in.

"It is nearly time," says the "Worker," "that an organised move was made to combat the secret schemes of the militarists in this country."

Comment on the Defence Act or its clauses in these columns is unnecessary; our attitude on the militarist or boy conscription question is well known; but what is too pathetically humorous to let pass unchallenged, is the "Worker's" attitude.

Has the editor of that paper forgotten who passed the Defence Act? And if he has, does he imagine that everyone has so short a memory as himself?

If the LABOR Party—I say IF—had a clean record in every other respect, the passing of the Boy Conscription Act would be sufficient to condemn it in the eyes of all men and women who have at heart the interests of their class.

Mr. Boote, and all his satellites should not place too much faith in the bad memory of the workers; their brains so far as the Labor Party is concerned are developing fast, and it is the task of the A.S.P. to assist as far as possible in this direction by bringing facts like the above right into prominence.

And we shall succeed, conditions are on our side; maybe sooner than they think, the Labor fakirs will have to earn their living some other way than by throwing dust in the eyes of the workers.

Who is the Prince Visiting?

It is noticeable that, although the Prince is visiting the Australian people, and he is noted for being democratic and all the rest of the usual stereotyped platitudes, seats along the route of his procession are being sold at a minimum cost of two guineas.

There will not be many members of the working class who will be able to pay two guineas for a seat, even if they so desired. Those who have money will be able to get a good place; those who have nothing will have to take their chance in the road. In spite of the visit of THEIR Prince, it is still a case of masters and slaves.

If the latter would only get wise to their class position, they would not trouble about getting hustled and hustled, and knocked about in a vain endeavor to see a mere human being like themselves. They would be putting all their united efforts towards doing away with that section of society which has exploited them so long. They would likewise remember that all this pomp and show is made possible by their labors, and yet they haven't even the means to pay for seats while the pageant goes by, and many of their wives and children are starving.

A realisation of these facts will begin to make things move, and such processions as that which is advertised to take place next week will be unheard of. We don't find any in Russia.

and to those who seek to "stir up" the masses by sensationalism and sentimental vapourings, we would recommend a study of the much neglected writings of Joseph Dietzgen. They would learn that in the battle for working class freedom each move must be calculated to advance at the minimum cost—the policy of the A.S.P.

International NEWS AND NOTES.

HUNGARY.

The White Terror in Hungary.

In spite of the constant denials, the Austrian papers continue to publish the atrocities being committed by the White Terror in Hungary. Men suddenly disappear and no trace of them can be found—until perhaps weeks or months later their dead bodies are found. The case of the editor Samogyis, is by no means an isolated one. The "Abend" reports that troops of officers calling themselves—pogrom—patrols roam the streets and attack and rob the Jews. Recently such an attack occurred in Kiralygasse and was only dispersed when a real patrol arrived on the scene. The officers were taken to the next street and there set free! The Jews, however, were detained in a ground room!

The same paper reports that the Communist, Ludwig Mayer, was sentenced to death. A defender of Mayer begged for mercy to which the reply was wired, "Hanging is no great punishment for him!"

In the Sawogger Komitat, reports the "Abend" of March 20th, 2,000 people were put to death within two weeks. This, it is true, is the district where the White Terror is at its worst—because in this district the land of the landowners had been socialised during the life of the Soviet Government and the workers and peasants on it supplied Budapest with bread as far as they could. And, of course, this cannot be forgiven them. Moderate Socialists as well as Communists are attacked, and even if they are eventually set free they simply disappear, their dead bodies being found later.

Our New Allies (?)

According to the "Temps," a large proportion of the uniforms of the Hungarian army have been bought in France, while their arms are supplied by England and Italy! Is this in preparation for the next war or merely an obliging act to the murderer—beg pardon—gentleman Horthy?

Friedrichs' New Post.

Quoting from the Beesi Magyar Uffag, the "Rhone Fahne" states that it has been shown on good authority that the recent leave of absence and departure from Hungary of the Hungarian War Minister, Friedrichs, was due to his connection with the murder of the editors Samogyi and Baeso. It would appear from this report that Friedrichs is now centralising Hungary's Ichrana (spy police) abroad, and that his was the mind at the back of the recent attempt to kidnap Bela Kun from Stockeran.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that for months past the "Rhone Fahne" and other Socialist papers have been denouncing the part taken by the Hungarian Embassy in Vienna in the kidnapping of Hungarian Communist refugees in Austria, hustling them over the frontiers to Hungary, there to meet with the well-known fate of the Hungarian Communists.

UKRAINE.

Ukrainian Student's Dream.

The Ukrainian students in Vienna, after discussing the present political situation, passed a resolution demanding that the representatives of Petlura, as well as those of the Petruschewitsch camp, should cease their anti peoples and counter-revolutionary activities, and should come into direct connection with the Kiev people's Government, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, and should give up to them all their functions, money, papers, and belongings of the Embassy in order to attain peacefully a free federation of all peoples, without lords or servants. We fear our Ukrainian student friends are destined to a rude awakening from the side of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and land-owning class if they really think the latter will work peacefully side by side with the workers for the ideal of brotherhood within or between the nations.

Jugo-Slavia.

The Communist Party of Jugo-Slavia has made great progress. It now numbers 40,000 members, rendering their monthly subscriptions quite regularly. Although suffering from the shortage of paper, it possesses the following papers: (1) The daily Belgrade paper, "Arbeiter Zeitung," has a circulation of 13,000 in Serbia, Macedonia, and Magerodina; (2) "Glas Sloboda," published in Sarajevo, has a circulation of 4,500 in Bosnia and Herzegovina; then the weeklies, "Novo Istina," circulation 8,000, "Radnicka Nijes," 2,000, "Radnicka Straza," 1,500, "Proletarac," 1,000, the peasant weekly, "Narodni Glas," 3,000, and the bi-weekly, "Oslobojenje," 8,000.

The Trades Unions have 100,000 members.

MANCHURIA.

Conference of Asiatic Socialists.

A conference of Asiatic Socialists was held in Northern Manchuria recently. There were present representatives of Japan, China and Korea, and it was decided to send a delegation to Soviet Russia.

The Socialist Information and Research Bureau (Scotland), which is doing excellent work of this kind, sends us the following information:—

SIBERIA.

A Short Way with Profiteers.

At Omsk it is stated that many Japanese traders who failed to leave the town at the time of the evacua-

Lenin as I Knew Him.

(From the Glasgow "Socialist").

I made the personal acquaintance of Lenin at a conference in Paris in 1902. What chiefly struck me in the present chief of the Soviets was the clearness and force of his ideas. For the first time in my life I found orthodox Marxian use the words "armed struggle." The Marxists of the "good" school were in the habit of treating all direct appeals for revolution as "white" methods.

In 1903 there occurred the split between Martoff, Skobolev and Lenin and his group. Lenin carried the majority one or two votes, if I am not mistaken. This was the origin of the term "Bolsheviks" or "Majority Party." Being partial to unity, I supported neither Bolsheviks nor Mensheviks. Despite the apparent unity, there was much contention. The sitting Editorial Committee of the party paper was a constant combat between Lenin-Zinovieff and Martoff.

I became more intimate with Lenin. His activity was prodigious. He was at the same time the leading theorist of his party, a tireless writer, organiser and speaker. His will-power is extraordinary, as the following incident will show. Several of his partisans (Lunatcharsky, Bogdanoff, etc.) had the idea of a conjunction of the Marxian philosophy with the naturalist and empirical theories of the Austrian philosopher Comte. Lenin scented danger for the purity of the theory, especially regarding tactics, and he put himself at forty years of age, to study philosophy. He collected almost a library of works on the subject, and wrote a book violently denouncing the philosophic "fusion" of his old friends. Those who know something of the difficulties of philosophical studies will appreciate Lenin's work in making himself a philosopher to safeguard the theoretic unity of his party.

Being very fond of clear-cut, distinct positions, he considered the unity of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks insupportable. He violently sundered, for the time, social-democratic unity. His reason I could not understand; but with Plekhanoff and his friends Lenin was master of the party and of its organs. He fashioned a situation which, therefore, seemed to me good one, and many of his personal friends, among them Lunatcharsky and Trotsky, thought so too. But experience proved the absolute incompatibility between two such parties, one of which held for the following of the class war without palliation, and the other, in spite of verbal reservation, tended to collaboration of classes and Socialist capitulation. The history of the revolution, 1917-18, has proved this. The majority of the Mensheviks joined in the democratic coalition, and were swept away with the fall of Kerensky. Lenin's tactics were not to weaken the position of a group, but to push them to the extreme expression of their position. When dealing with a waverer, instead of taking him by the arm and leading him to the "left," he gives him a little push to the "right." There are occasions when it requires superhuman will and incomparable clearness of vision to resist the tendency to reconciliation. This was the case just after the revolution of October. Lenin's own intimate friends—Zinovieff, Lunatcharsky, Rykoff, and others—favored an alliance with the left wing of other Social-Democratic groups and resigned from the party. Lenin was left almost alone. He persisted. The situation was without precedent. No one could say what would happen. Kerensky and the Cossacks were still alive. The German Army was in the country. The Entente was menacing. Lenin held out and won. His words have returned; the enemy is defeated. I read history in vain for a parallel; there is none. One may like his tactics; one might prefer a more mobile procedure. But independent of our ideas on tactics, everyone must say of Lenin—Behold a man!

Charles Rappoport, of Paris.

have started to do business again. To this the commissars have no objection, but insist that goods be sold at prices fixed by them. They allow the Japanese to add to the prices of their goods a sum sufficient to give them a liberal profit and leave a margin for the Japanese; but the traders must sell in roubles at the old pre-war rate of exchange of a rouble to a yen. The Japanese are not willing to do this, they are repeatedly requested to close their premises and leave the town.

Speculation and profiteering are being severely dealt with, and as there are ten informers to every would-be profiteer, it is clear that the authorities are able to bring to book, without much difficulty, those guilty of sucking the blood of the masses, and gradually the prices of all commodities are falling, whilst the demand is increasing.

A veritable boom in trade may be expected in Harbin once trans-Siberian transportation routes are reopened, for all the goods in stock in the more eastern towns are being taken westwards.

Soviet Rule Extending.

The Revolutionists and various Trade Workers' Societies and Unions are now holding secret meetings at Harbin to decide how to assist their comrades in Russian territory. It seems probable that this will be the Revolutionaries in the railway area will come to power automatically as the Russian Littorals come under Soviet rule. There are not likely to be any armed clashes, for neither the Reds nor the Whites have any forces to speak of within the railway area; and it is improbable that the Chinese authorities will allow Simonov or anyone else send troops from without. The railwaymen's union have demanded of General Horvath the immediate release of all persons under arrest for political reasons.

—The Call, England.

The Price of Profits

The Broken Hill Strike

Although it is more than 13 months since work ceased along the line of lode, the long Red Roll of murdered miners continues to grow.

Yesterday afternoon, June 2, William Van Pelt was buried.

Yesterday morning George Pink died. Both were men who, if working in a healthy industry, would now be in the prime of their lives.

The late Mr. Van Pelt was 47 years of age, and Mr. Pink, who will be buried to-day, was only 43.

Two more miners sacrificed to Plute! Two more lives offered up on the altar of dividends!

After a year's idleness, the Red Roll still mounts up; those who are left are asking when their turn will come.

The wives of the miners are now looking at their husbands, wondering.

The miners are looking at their wives and children, thinking—thinking of what may happen to them when they themselves go the way so many of their mates have gone.

There are lessons to be learned there that all the liars the mine-owners' millions could buy could not efface.

They are lessons that every miner should learn—and remember.

The bereaved widow sobbing over the phthisis-cursed and lead-poisoned remains of her late husband should teach men the great benefit that contract work and high wages will be to them and theirs when their wife is a widow and they have followed their mates.

The tear-stained faces of the little orphaned children should convince men that they should look after their health and lives, to enable them to look after their own babies.

They clergyman, who after blessing profits all the week, now drones the burial service with such perfect intonation—from him, too, much can be learnt.

Men could follow his example in regard to underground and other work with much profit to themselves.

The sad scenes that are enacted almost daily in that resting place of the dead should be taken to heart by all who are compelled by circumstances to work along the line of lode. They would profit by it.

But the profits of the mine-owners, gained as they are at such an awful cost, would suffer.

That would be much better, though, for the miners' wives and the miners' children.

Anything would be better than this soulless slaughter of human beings that is going on ceaselessly. Nothing could be worse. We in Broken Hill only know of the victims who have died here.

Of the hundreds who go away broken in health to die elsewhere, we know practically nothing.

They leave; sometimes their widows return; sometimes their deaths are reported. But the great majority have passed into the great unknown without the Broken Hill people hearing of them again.

There flashes across our memory a long list of men—personal friends, prominent unionists, whom we knew, and who have left here in bad health and died. "Drummer" Smith, Bob Tweedie, Pat Bruggie, Tom Hogan—the list could go on almost endlessly.

None of them old men. None of them receiving one penny compensation from the companies in whose service their lives were so ruthlessly and wilfully sacrificed.

All of them dying in poverty, when they should have been provided for with plenty of all the things they may have required, out of the wealth they assisted to create.

All of them murdered by the mines—all of them victims of greed.

And because those that are left to-day will not consent to follow those who have gone before like sheep follow sheep to the slaughter-house, the hired liars of the boss lash themselves into a frenzy of falsehood.

Because men will no longer consent to have the lives ground out of them to provide profits and pleasure for a wealthy few in those working places of death, disaster, and dividends along the line of lode all the agents of evil and false prophets of the boss are united in opposition against them.

The miners have been told daily for the last 12 months that they have no right to protest in the only manner open to them, in the manner that they have, against conditions of labor that mean death at an early age to them. But they are still protesting. They know that they are right.

They have been told that everyone who pleaded their cause were liars and "strike-makers." But they knew better.

They have been told that the mines were healthy—as healthy as any other industry.

But they have watched the Red Roll growing day

Bolshevism and the Eastern Peoples.

By COLIN WADE.

The explanation of the sympathy which Soviet Russia receives from Asiatic peoples is readily found in Russia's attitude towards them, an attitude which is diametrically opposite to that assumed to them by the European Powers. While the Western Powers dream of nothing but exploiting and enslaving these peoples, the Russian revolutionaries promise them liberty and offer them assistance to achieve it.

For instance, a few months ago the Moscow Government sent by wireless telegraphy the following proclamation to the workers and peasants of Persia: "The English brigands and the agents of Tsarism continually thirst for conquest have reduced you to a profound degree of slavery. Russia was oppressed by the unlimited power of an autocratic Tsar, England was and is still governed by a handful of all-powerful capitalist bandits; These two competitors were in perpetual conflict over Persia. And a day came when the popular masses of Persia rose and endeavored to free themselves from the century-old chains of the unlimited power of the Shah and at the same time from those of their oppressors and feudal vampires. The champions of Persian liberty met their end on the scaffold at Tcherin and later at Tabriz.

But the great Russian revolution broke out. One of the first acts of the Soviet Government was to proclaim the right of every nation, great or small, to control its own destiny. In January, 1918, Comrade Trotsky solemnly announced to the Persian people that all secret treaties concluded between Russia, England, and other powers concerning Persia were abrogated by Russia, and that the Russian people would restore to Persia all that had been taken from it by the Generals of the Tsar.

The Persian Government, on its part, declared all these treaties null and void. It seemed that a new day of liberty was dawning for the Persian people. But this was not to be; in the spring of 1918 English troops gradually occupied the whole of Persia.

The British promised to evacuate Persia as soon as the Turks had been driven out of the country, and to indemnify Persia for all requisitions. The note of the British Government containing these promises appeared in the Persian newspaper, "Baab," on the 14th March, 1918. The English promised to help the Persian people after the war to reorganise its economic life which had been annihilated.

Instead of which they have reduced the population of Persia to slavery.

After having, with the capitalists of France and America, conquered their world rival, German Imperialism, the English capitalists considered the moment opportune to take Persia in hand in a final and irrevocable fashion.

Persia is thus eliminated from the number of independent nations; its people have ceased to be free, for its own despotic rulers are in receipt of English money, and have become its salaried servants.

Moreover, the Bolsheviks have acted in the same way to China.

Last July they addressed a manifesto to the Chinese people and to the Governments of North and of South China announcing that the army of the Soviet had resumed its march beyond the Urals with the object of coming to the assistance of the Chinese workers. "The government of the Soviets," said the manifesto, "is ready to restore to the Chinese people all that has been taken from it by the government of the Tsar. The Soviet Government knows that the Entente will do all it can to prevent this proclamation from reaching the Chinese people, and that it will first of all be necessary to drive out the brigands who have installed themselves in Manchuria and Siberia, so that it may be possible to restore to the Chinese people that of which they have been robbed. That is why the Soviet Government sends its Red Army at the same time as this manifesto with a view to liberating Siberia from the bandit Koltchak, from Japan, and from the Allies."

—The International.

after day—and know the truth. They recognise the agents of the boss as the paid liars of profit they really are, and are not to be deceived.

Yes, the funeral of one victim of the mines yesterday, and the funeral of the other to-day provide sad spectacles. But with the spreading of the truth about the real causes of them, and the determination of the men to alter those causes, they are spectacles that will grow less and less in the future.

That is the aim of the A.M.A. members. That is the reason of the strike. And those who are opposed to the men's demands for healthy conditions of labor will be ever remembered as individuals with minds belonging to the dark ages, or as individuals who have sold out body and soul to an evil cause—to the evil cause of profits.

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THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

Continued from front page

to the effect that the difference between national and international tactics has not been sufficiently discussed by the Socialist movement? This is, we repeat, a mere sophism. A many-sided and scientific discussion of imperialism had begun. The discussion upon imperialism and its relation to capitalism is as endless as the general discussion upon any scientific phenomenon. But the discussion regarding the foundation of Socialist tactics against capitalist imperialism is a different matter. Because such tactics had already been explained and stated in millions of copies of Socialist newspapers and in the decisions of the International. The Socialist parties are not mere glorified debating clubs, but are the fighting organisations of the proletariat. When a number of battalions pass over to the enemy we cannot term them anything else than traitors. We must not be misled with fallacy that everyone views imperialism from a different standpoint. It is only jingoes like Kautsky and Cunow who can write learned volumes on the subject and plead that "the question has not yet been sufficiently discussed." The study of capitalism in all the ramifications of its historic development, and its national peculiarities, will never be exhausted. Learned men, and particularly pedants, will never cease to discuss the present mode of production in all its little details. But it would be more than ridiculous for Socialists to renounce their struggle against capitalism because many details of the system are capable of standing further discussion. Nevertheless, so far as imperialism is concerned, that is exactly what Kautsky, Cunow and Axelrod are doing. And since the war began, none of the critics have attempted to critically analyse the Basle resolution, or to show wherein it errs.

CHAPTER III.

The Revolutionary Situation.

Did sincere Socialists stand up for the Basle resolution because they foresaw that the war would create a revolutionary situation? Has the trend of events proved that these Socialists have been wrong?

Cunow, in his pamphlet, "Has the Party Collapsed?" and in a series of articles, tries to justify his passing over to the bourgeois camp by means of arguing from the above proposition. Most of the Socialist jingoes led by Kautsky, attempt to reinforce their case by a similar line of reasoning. Cunow contends that the expectation of a revolution would break out proved to be an illusion, and it is not the duty of Marxians to defend illusions. Nevertheless, this adherent of Struve¹ does not say a word about the "illusions" of the men who signed the Basle manifesto; like an "honourable" man he seeks to put the blame on men of the extreme left like Pannekoek and Radek.

Let us examine the argument that the authors of the Basle manifesto sincerely believed in the coming of a revolution, which the actual trend of events did not justify. The Basle manifesto says: (1) That the war will create an "economic and political crisis," (2) that the workers will regard as a crime the participation in the war and "shooting at one another" to swell the profits of the capitalists and to satisfy the ambitions of dynasties, or to carry out the secret diplomatic treaties. The manifesto further says that the war would provoke "indignation and revolt" amongst the working class, (3) that the Socialists must make use of the crisis and of the mental conditions of the workers indicated to "incite the people" and to hasten the downfall of capitalism, (4) that no Government without exception, could begin the war without imperilling its position, (5) that all Governments fear the oncoming approach of the proletarian revolution, (6) that the Paris Commune and the Russian revolution of 1905

must be borne in mind by the governments. All these thoughts are perfectly clear, though they contain no guarantee that the revolution will break out. The manifesto lays stress on clearly defined facts and tendencies. Those who, when referring to these thoughts and arguments, portrayed in the manifesto, say that the expected revolution proved illusory, revealed not a Marxian, but a Struvinist and reactionary police attitude towards the revolution. It is plain to Marxists that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation. But every revolutionary situation does not lead directly to a revolution.

What are, as a rule, the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly be on the right track in pointing out three main symptoms: (1) A ruling class finds it impossible to retain its domination intact, due to its passing through a crisis which stimulates the oppressed class to revolt against its rule. For revolution to break out is not enough for those at the bottom to be content to live as they did before; they must also see to it that it becomes impossible for those at the top to continue their old policy; (2) want and suffering are experienced by the oppressed class in a more intense degree than ordinarily; (3) the causes indicated compel activity amongst the masses. During "times of peace" they calmly allow themselves to be fleeced, but in times of stress they are stimulated by the staging of the crisis, together with the action of those at the top, to enter the arena as an independent historical force. Without these objective changes independent of the will, not only of the separate groups and parties, but even of separate classes—revolution is, as a rule, impossible. Taken in the sum, these objective changes constitute what is called a revolutionary situation. Such a situation existed in Russia in 1905, and in all the revolutionary periods in the west. Such was also the situation in Germany in the sixties of the 19th century, and in 1859-1861 and 1879-1880 in Russia, though no revolution took place in these cases. And for what reason? Because a revolution is not produced by every revolutionary situation; it is produced when, in addition to the objective changes enumerated above, certain subjective changes take place, viz., when a revolutionary class shows ability to take revolutionary mass action sufficiently forceful to break, or at least to damage, the existing government. Even in times of crisis, governments do not "tumble down of their own accord," but require a force to "overthrow" them.

Such is the Marxian view of revolution, elaborated time after time and recognised as indisputable by all Marxists. The correctness of this view was, for us Russians, clearly confirmed by the experiences of 1905. The question now arises as to what was anticipated in this respect by the Basle manifesto in 1912 and what actually took place in 1914 and 1915.

A revolutionary situation was anticipated which was briefly described as an "economic and political crisis." Did such a crisis arise? Undoubtedly it did. Lenach, the Socialist jingo (who is more honest and straightforward in his defence of jingoism than such hypocrites as Cunow, Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co.), went as far as to say that "we are passing through a revolution of a peculiar kind" (see his pamphlet "German Social-Democracy and the War," p. 6, Berlin, 1915). The existence of a political crisis cannot be denied; not one of the governments was sure of the morrow; not one of them felt secure against financial collapse, or loss of territory, or even expulsion—as instance the Belgian Government—from its own country. The Governments to-day live on the top of a volcano and they all appeal to the self-activity and heroism of the masses. The political regime of the whole of Europe rocks on its foundations, and he must be blind who would deny that we have entered a period of great social upheavals.

Kautsky, two months after the outbreak of war, wrote in the "Neue Zeit," October 2nd, 1914, that "a government is never so strong, nor the parties so feeble

as I am writing this on the day of Italy's declaration of war.

as at the beginning of a war." This is one of the instances of Kautsky's falsification of historical facts in order to please the opportunists. A government never so much in need of agreement amongst the tiers of the ruling class and never so much in need of the submission of the oppressed classes as during a period of war. That is the first point. The second, that a government only appears to be all-powerful at the outbreak of war, and this is largely due to the fact that a revolutionary situation does not simultaneously with the outbreak of war.

The present European war is a bigger affair than in the past. The misery of the masses is greater and the toll of life and suffering is frightful. The evolution of these experiences tend to convulse the foundations of Europe. Governments and Socialists alike pass over there facts in order to thrust a vague desire for peace before the eyes of the masses, and the longer the war lasts and the fiercer its character becomes, the quicker they develop the revolutionary activity of the working class—the class that is called upon to make the greatest efforts of self-sacrifice. The experiences of the war even as the experience of some calamity in a nation generally tends to stimulate him and make him, in the long run, steel, strengthen, and enlighten the majority of the toilers.

The coming of "peace" will not put an end to the intensified antagonisms, but, on the contrary, will bring home with awful vividness to the most backward section of the population the terrible calamities caused by imperialism and war. In a word, a revolutionary situation is present in most of the progressive countries of Europe. In this respect the anticipations of the Basle manifesto are fully justified. The jingo Socialists pass over this in silence, a thing tantamount to intent to deceive and mislead the working class.

How long is this revolutionary situation going to last, and how much more acute is it going to become? This we know not. It will only be by experience that we measure that the foremost class—the working class—develops revolutionary methods and passes to revolutionary action. We internationalists have no influence on the question of the outbreak of immediate revolution, and do not offer to guarantee the happening of either to-day or to-morrow. But we realise the fundamental duty of all Socialists is to prepare the workers the presence of a revolutionary situation, to explain its nature, and to awaken by propaganda the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat. Nor do we stop short at theorising; we advocate and help the workers to make up revolutionary action, building up for that purpose an organisation corresponding to the needs of the time.

Without illusions, the Basle manifesto lays down the correct attitude and duty of the Socialist Party on all lands. That duty is to incite and stir up the working class to a consciousness of its deplorable position in society; not to lull it to sleep by means of jingoism as has been done by Plekhanov and Axelrod in Russia, Kautsky and Cunow in Germany, Hyndman in England, and Thomas in France, etc., etc. It is the imperative duty of all Socialists to make use of the war to accelerate the collapse of capitalism. Guided by the example of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian revolution of 1905, we must urge on the rising of the oppressed of all lands. Those "Socialist" parties who have failed in this are guilty of the betrayal of Socialism, and have signed their own political death warrant. Their action constitutes a renunciation of international principles, and signifies their passing over to the side of the master class.

(Continued next week.)

Printed and published by Raymond Everett at the Marxian Printing Works, 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney, for the Australian Socialist Party

¹See latest interview with Axelrod in "Nasho Slovo," Nos. 87 and 90.

*Prof. Struve, a professor of economics at Petrograd and a political opportunist.